

## Portuguese Reflexivization and Some Related Problems\*

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The purpose of this paper is to present a few suggestions for the analysis of Portuguese reflexives from the viewpoint of 'case grammar'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>As developed by Fillmore in a number of publications. See especially Fillmore (1966, 1967, 1968a, 1968b, 1970).

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I will take as point of departure the proposals concerning the analysis of Spanish reflexives made by Ronald Langacker (1970) in his review of Mark Goldin's Spanish Case and Function and introduce some ideas of my own.

In the review, Langacker points out that in Goldin's analysis the se in sentences (1) through (3) are introduced by three different rules.

- |     |            |                     |
|-----|------------|---------------------|
| (1) | se mató    | 'he killed himself' |
| (2) | se quejó   | 'he complained'     |
| (3) | se trabajó | 'one worked'        |

Thus, Langacker observes, sentence (1) is analysed by Goldin as an instance of 'true reflexive' which is inserted by the following rule:

- (4) True reflexives  
When there are identical noun phrases within a Sentence, one of which is the subject, the one which is not the subject takes the form of a reflexive pronoun.

(Goldin's rule 69)

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Sentence (2) is said to contain an 'automatic reflexive' which is inserted by

- (5) Automatic reflexive  
If a verb is present which requires a reflexive pronoun, one is inserted.  
(Goldin's rule 81)

Finally, sentence (3) is analysed as an instance of 'impersonal' sentences and the se is inserted by the following rule:

- (6) Reflexive pronoun insertion  
If an Agent is not present but potentially could be, and if 7b<sup>2</sup> did not apply, OR if an Agent is not potentially present but a Dative is potentially present with a verb that permits Dative subjects, then a reflexive pronoun is inserted.  
(Goldin's rule 22)

<sup>2</sup>This rule states: "If no Agent is present but an Instrumental is, the Instrumental becomes the Subject if there is a direct object..."

Langacker claims that the rules in (5) and (6) are superfluous and offers an alternative analysis in which all the three sentences receive a 'unified treatment',<sup>3</sup> His proposal consists of:

<sup>3</sup>Goldin's book came to my hands only recently. Since I could not yet dedicate the attention that the book actually deserves, I will not enter into the details of the argument.

- (7) a. a rule for Subject Choice in which the choice is based on a 'case hierarchy' as proposed by Fillmore. The rule is described as involving two operations:  
    (i) copying  
    (ii) deletion;  
b. a rule of Object Substitution which states that 'a copy of an inanimate Objective may be substituted for an unspecified Agent or Dative in subject position';  
c. a Passive rule described as 'something similar to the rule in Chomsky (1957)';  
d. a Reflexive rule identical to the one mentioned in (4);

In addition, there is a derivational constraint:

## e. 'Constraint on derivations

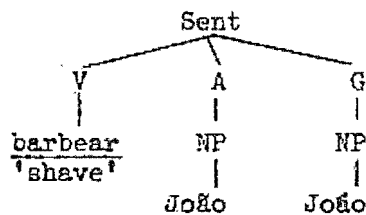
If a deep structure contains an unspecified Agent or Dative, then any surface structure derived from it must differ in some way from the surface structure that would be derived from the corresponding deep structure lacking the unspecified element' (p. 178-9)

Let us now pass to the examination of the effect of these rules to the case of Portuguese.

The derivation of 'true reflexives' such as (8) from the deep structure (9) is straightforward.

(8) João se barbeou 'John shaved himself'

(9)



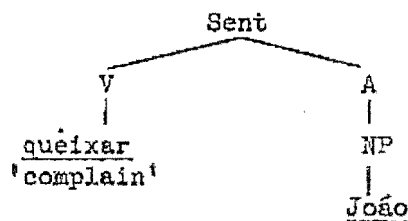
The Reflexivization rule (7d) would apply to (9) and derive (8).

Consider now the treatment of 'automatic reflexives' as in (10).

(10) João se queixou 'John complained se'

Its deep structure is something like (11).

(11)



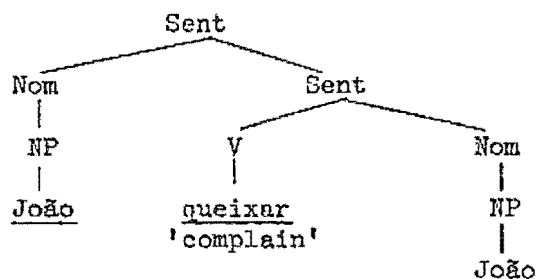
Since João is the only case to appear in (11), after Nominative Marking has applied, Subject Formation (= Longacker's Subject Choice) applies next. As described in (7a), this rule involves two steps: (i) copying and (ii) deletion. Application of the first step of the rule would yield the intermediary structure (12).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>I am assuming with Fillmore that a copy of the Nominative case is Chomsky-adjoined to the Sentence node.

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(12)



Now, verbs such as queixar would be specified as undergoing just the first step of the rule (copying) but not the second (deletion). Since there are two coreferential NP's, the structural description for Reflexivization to apply is met and (10) is derived.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>There are some formal problems involved since the two NP's are not under the same Sentence node, but this is a matter that can easily be overcome by convention.

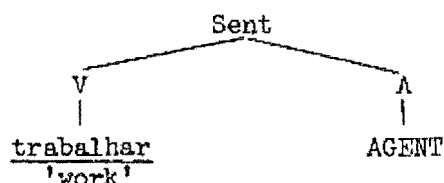
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Consider now the derivation of 'impersonal' sentences such as (13).

(13) trabalha-se 'one works'

Its underlying structure can be represented as (14), where 'AGENT' stands for an 'unspecified Agent'.

(14)



The 'unspecified Agent' does not appear in the surface but the derivational constraint (7e)<sup>6</sup> states that it must leave a 'trace' in

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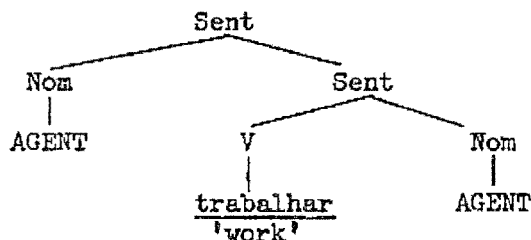
<sup>6</sup>The derivational constraint was set up in order to account for the differences between sentences derived from deep structures such as (14) which contain an 'unspecified AGENT' and must therefore undergo only the first step of the Subject Formation rule from those which derive from deep structures which have a normal Agent which gets deleted by a later rule. In other words, the constraint would explain the difference in surface between:

(i)	Sp. se trabajó	'AGENT worked'
(ii)	Sp. trabajó	'(he) worked'

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the surface just in case the first step of the Subject Formation rule applies (but not the second). After the copying part of the rule has applied, the result is (15).

(15)



Reflexivization and the deletion of the unspecified elements then take place and (13) is derived.

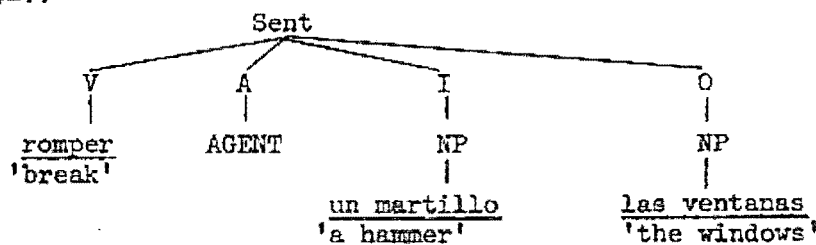
Let us consider now the arguments in support of the Object Substitution rule. This rule was proposed in order to account for Spanish sentences like (16).

- (16) "Se rompió las ventanas con un martillo"  
'The windows were broken with a hammer'

The problem presented by this sentence, as Langacker points out, is that they 'seem to violate the normal subject choice hierarchy since the Objective (ventanas) has been chosen as subject despite the presence of an Instrumental (martillo)' (p. 183). Let us see how this difficulty is overcome by the Object Substitution rule.

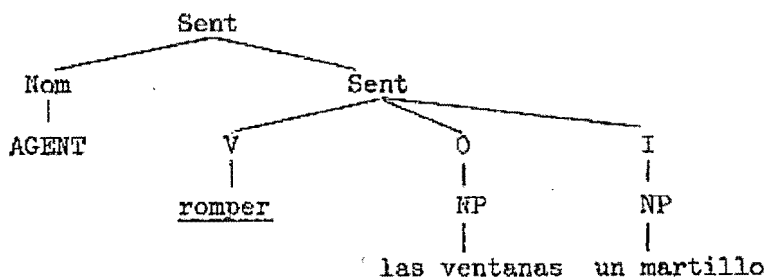
Following the line of Langacker's analysis, the structure underlying (16) would be something like (17).

(17)



Given the case hierarchy, only the AGENT can be chosen as subject in this case. Thus after Nominative Marking, Subject Formation--which applies fully this time--and Object Formation would yield the intermediary structure (18).

(18)



Object Substitution<sup>7</sup> would then apply substituting the inanimate

<sup>7</sup>Notice that the motivation for the rule of Object Copying is based on (16) and on (i) below, both given by Goldin and discussed by Langacker (p. 183):

- (i) Sp. Se rompieron las ventanas con un martillo.  
 'The windows were broken with a hammer'

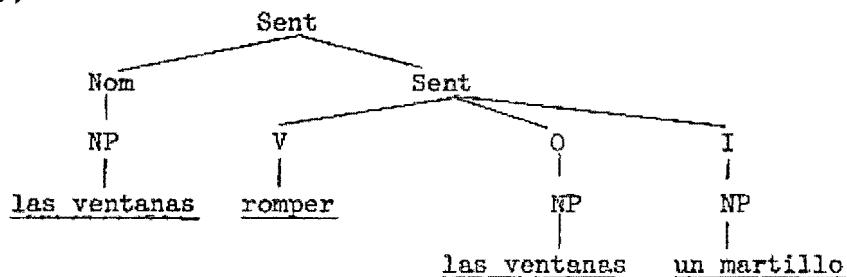
As I argue later in this paper (78), the translation into Portuguese results in an ungrammatical sentence. I have approached some native speakers of Spanish and they claim that (i) is ungrammatical also in Spanish and I believe they are right. They volunteered:

- (if) se rompieron las ventanas de un martillazo.  
 'The windows got broken with the blow of a hammer'.

which reflects precisely the situation found in Portuguese. Since the rule was devised in order to generate a sentence of dubious status, and since I believe there are other problems involved, as I point out in (79ff.), I am rather skeptical about its necessity.

Objective for the unspecified Agent yielding (19).

(19)



Reflexivization can now apply and derive (16) from (19).

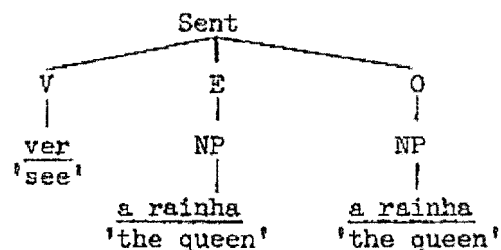
Given this general framework, I will limit myself to the discussion of some implications of Langacker's analysis and present some alternative views.

Let us point out initially some distinctions that must be made with respect to the so-called 'true reflexives' (for whatever that means). Compare initially the following sentences:

- (20) A rainha se viu no espelho mágico.  
'The queen saw herself in the magic mirror'
- (21) Silvia se comprou um carro bacana.  
'Silvia bought herself a terrific car'
- (22) Stela comprou-lhe um piano.  
'Stela bought him a piano'

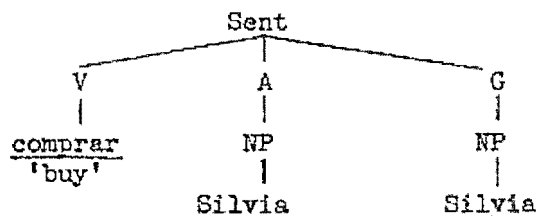
In a 'case grammar' the semantic distinctions involving these sentences can be described very accurately. Thus in sentence (20) we have an Experiencer which perceives an Object. Since the two NP's dominated by these two cases are coreferential, Reflexivization applies. The deep structure for (20) can be represented as (23).

(23)

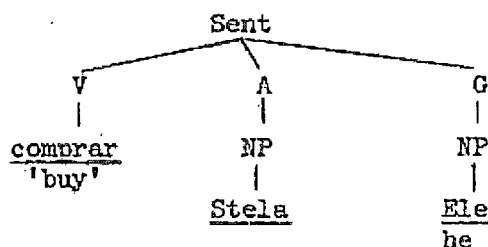


In sentence (21) there is an Agent and a Goal and the two NP's dominated by both cases are coreferential, whereas in (22) there is also an Agent and a Goal but the NP's dominated by these two cases are non-coreferential. This explains why Reflexivization takes place in (21) but not in (22). These distinctions are expressed in structures (24) and (25) which underlie (21) and (22), respectively.

(24)



(25)



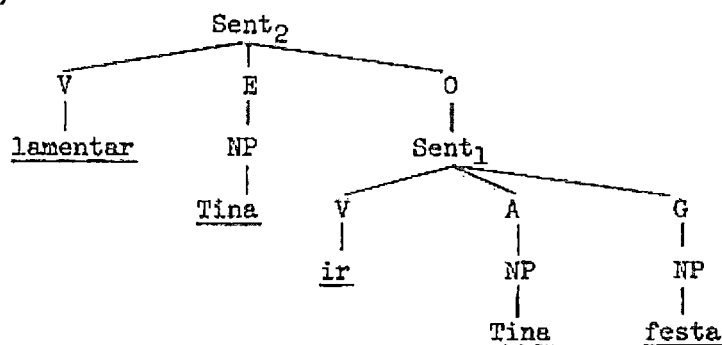
We have just seen that what is involved in Reflexivization seems to be 'coreferentiality', or identity of some sort, between NP's. Since the rule is to apply whenever its structural description is met, the notion 'true reflexives' is empty. The term will therefore be used in this paper in a very loose sense.

Let us examine now Langacker's analysis of 'automatic reflexives'. Consider the following:

- (26) Tina se lamentou de ter ido a festa.  
'Tina regretted se to have gone to the party'

The deep structure for (26) may be represented as (27).

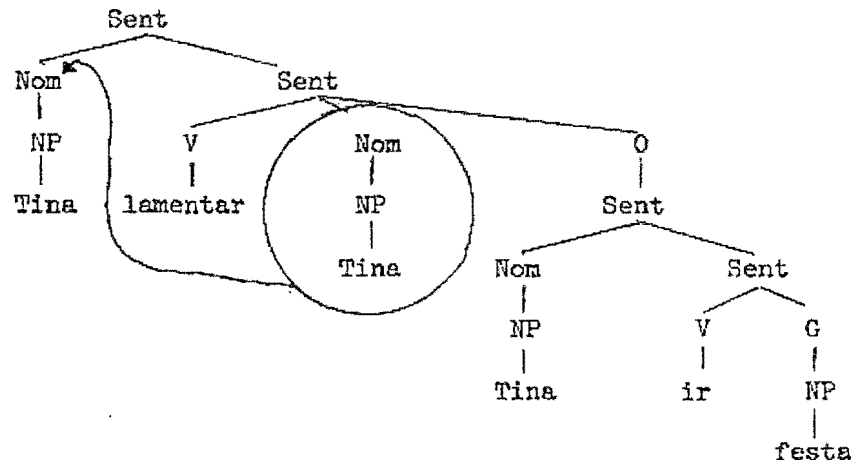
(27)



Following Langacker's proposal, verbs such as queixar 'complain', lamentar 'regret', etc. would be marked as exceptions to the second part of the Subject Formation rule. That is, these verbs undergo the first part of the rule (copying) but not the second (deletion) (Cf. p. 182). In other words, the first part of the Subject Formation rule would apply to (27) converting it into (28) by copying the circled Nominative in the higher Sent-node.



(28)



Now, since verbs like lamentar 'regret' are marked as exceptions to the second part of the Subject Formation rule, the NP within the circled Nominative in (28) is not deleted. The condition for Reflexivization to apply would be met and (26) is derived.

There are however some difficulties with this analysis. First it is not the case that verbs like lamentar must always take a reflexive, for there are sentences like (29) in the language.

- (29) Tina lamentou ter ido à festa  
'Tine regretted to have gone to the party'

As a matter of fact there are cases in which the presence of the reflexive renders the sentence ungrammatical.

- (30) a. Tina lamentou que João tivesse morrido  
'Tina regretted that João had died (subj.)'  
b. \*Tina se lamentou que João tivesse morrido.  
'Tina regretted (herself) that João had died (subj.)!'

Thus, if we mark lamentar 'regret' as an exception to the deletion part of the Subject Formation rule the grammar would not only incorrectly rule out (30a) but also produce the ungrammatical (30b).<sup>8</sup> This seems to constitute a serious problems for the analysis

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<sup>8</sup>One may argue on the basis of the syntactic evidence provided by (29), (30a-b) that lamentar 'regret' and other verbs which present the same syntactic behavior are not 'genuine automatic reflexive verbs'. But this would considerably drain the list of the so-called 'automatic reflexive verbs' thus ultimately supporting the hypothesis that I am trying to defend, namely, that there are no 'automatic reflexive verbs'.

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suggested by Langacker.

Second, I would argue that it is not just a coincidence that the reflexive may occur with lamentar 'regret' only when the subject of the higher and lower sentences are identical as in (26), but cannot occur in (30b) where the subject of the higher and lower sentences are different.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Goldin (p. 48) mentions as typical verbs which take 'automatic reflexives' the following: arrepentir (Port. arrepender) 'repent'; atrever (Port. atrever) 'dare'; factar (Port. gabar) 'boast'; quejar (Port. queixar) 'complain'; ausentar (Port. ausentar) 'be absent' and acordar (Port. lembrar) 'remember/remind'.

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As a matter of fact, when we consider the so-called 'automatic reflexive verbs' we notice that a large number of them require that the subjects of the higher and lower sentences be identical.

- (31) a. Beto se arrependeu de ter seduzido a sogra.  
'Bob repented (himself) of having seduced his mother-in-law'  
b. \*Beto se arrependeu de João ter seduzido a sogra.  
'Bob repented (himself) of John having seduced his mother-in-law'
- (32) a. Chico se streveu a fumar maconha em frente do delegado.  
'Chico dared (himself) to smoke pot in front of the sheriff.  
b. \*Chico se atreveu à João fumar maconha em frente do delegado  
'Chicao dared (himself) for John to smoke pot in front of the sheriff.

With queixar 'complain' the same observation seems to hold. Only the presence of sentences like (33d) seem to suggest that there are other problems involved.

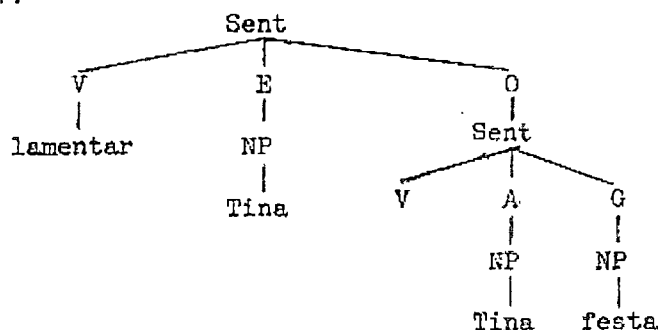
- (33) a. João se queixou de ter sido insultado pelo barbeiro.  
'John complained (himself) of having been insulted by the barber'  
??b. João se queixou do barbeiro tê-lo insultado.  
'John compalined (himself) of the barber having insulted him'  
c. \*João se queixou que a mulher de Pedro foi insultada pelo barbeiro  
'John complained (himself) that Peter's wife was insulted by the barber.  
d. Joao se queixou que a sua mulher foi insultada pelo barbeiro.

'John<sub>i</sub> complained (himself) that his<sub>i</sub> wife  
was insulted by the barber'

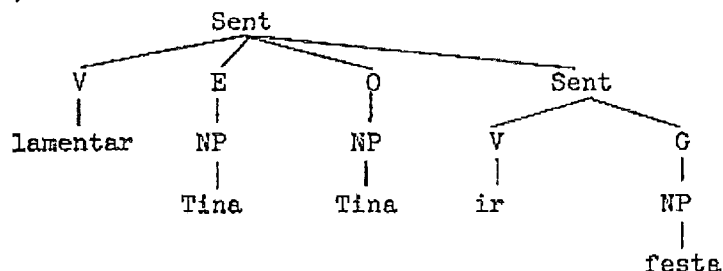
The facts listed in (26), (29), (30) and in (31) through (32) seem to suggest that the presence of the reflexives may be accounted for by a rule of Subject Raising rather than by marking these verbs as undergoing just one step of the Subject Formation rule. I will tentatively adopt the former view here, although the problems presented by sentences (33b) and (33d) show that we must know much more about these cases before we can choose one analysis over the other.

Under this new analysis, Subject Raising would first apply to deep structure (27), repeated below and produce (27') as an output.

(27)



(27')



Reflexivization would then apply in the usual manner and (26) is derived. If, on the other hand, Subject Raising which is optional does not apply then Required Coreference Deletion applies to (27) and (29) is derived.

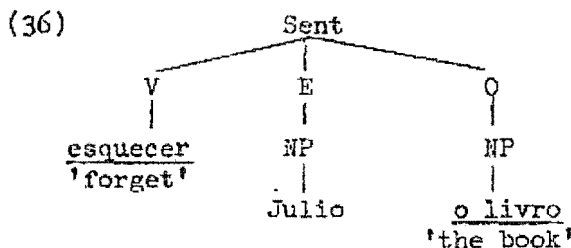
If the analysis that I have suggested above is correct then it would follow that the so-called 'automatic reflexive verbs' are simply verbs which allow Subject Raising to apply, and Reflexivization applies normally if the raised NP is coreferential to another NP under the same Sent-node. Notice furthermore that there seems to be no reason why the grammar should generate sentences like (2) and (10) directly, for the predicates involved are always understood as having an underlying complement. I suspect that most of the difficulty in the analysis of these verbs comes from the insistence of treating them as 'intransitives'.

Let us turn now to the observation of some other cases. Consider the following:

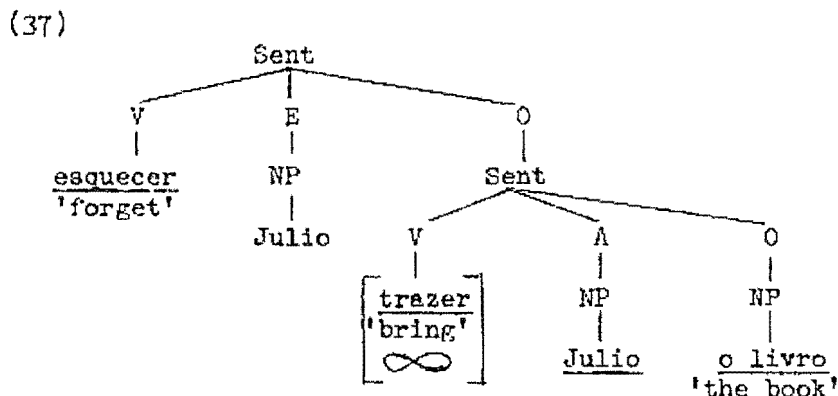
(34) Júlio se esqueceu do livro  
'Julio forgot (himself) of the book'

(35) Júlio esqueceu o livro  
'Julio forgot (=left) the book'

Sentence (34) would seem to constitute a counter-example to the analysis I have just suggested since there is a reflexive pronoun and no obvious complement sentence. Subject Raising therefore could never have applied. But a closer analysis of the two sentences shows that their underlying structures are quite distinct. In fact, only (35) can have (36) as its underlying structure.



Sentence (34), on the other hand, has to be analysed as having a complement sentence which has its predicate deleted. Its deep structure is something like (37).



Observe that this analysis besides being intuitively correct provides not only an explanation for the presence of the reflexive in the surface structure of (34) but also accounts for the fact that sentence (34) is structurally ambiguous in n-ways.

It is the existence of facts like the ones we have discussed that support our alternative analysis of 'reflexive verbs' as a non-trivial hypothesis. The relative complexity of the examples discussed also suggests that this hypothesis should not be discarded by a superficial analysis of sentences like (38) and (39).

- (38) Tina se queixou de Maria ter ido a festa  
'Tina complained herself of Maria have gone to the party'
- (39) Julio se queixou do delegado  
'Julio complained himself of the sheriff'

These I will leave as a problem here, but it is not unlikely that an explanation can be found in a much deeper level.

Let us examine now the problem of the so-called 'impersonal sentences'. Langacker's formal account of the problem seems to work without difficulties and perhaps should be accepted until the issue is further clarified. But it is clear that a more satisfactory explanation has to be found and it is with this in mind that I will offer a few suggestions.

Compare for instance sentences (40) and (41):

- (40) Vendemos casas.  
'(we) sell houses'
- (41) Vende-se casas.  
'Sell se casas'

Sentence (41) may be regarded as ambiguous between the readings (42) and (43).

- (42) (AGENT ?:) vende casas.  
'AGENT ?' sells houses.
- (43) Casas são vendidas.  
'Houses are sold'

Sentence (40) clearly has an underlying subject which is deleted by a transformation. But it is not at all obvious that this is the case with (41) in the reading (43). One thing is certain in the latter case: the se is not the subject of the sentence. The presence of an unspecified AGENT in (42) is also probably wrong. What motivates it is simply the surface phenomenon that the verb is in the third person singular. The postulation of a 'dummy' symbol AGENT in the underlying structure becomes still more implausible when we analyse sentences like (44).

- (44) Vendem-se casas.  
'Sell (se) casas'

in which the verb agrees in number with casas 'houses'.

The same apparent ambiguity noticed in (41) is present in all cases of 'impersonal sentences' as exemplified by (45) and (46).

- (45) Conserta-se sapatos.  
a. '(AGENT ?) repairs shoes'  
b. 'Shoes are repaired'

- (46) Se pagará ao portador  
 a. '(AGENT ?) will pay to the holder'  
 b. 'The holder will be paid'

I am rather tempted to make a generalization at this stage: it seems that in all cases of 'impersonal sentences' there appears to be a 'change of state' involved, or something of that sort. This would account for the 'passive meaning' of these sentences and also for the difficulty of 'discovering' an Agent for them. I will return to this later in connection with the so-called 'passive use of the reflexive', which will be discussed directly.

There are certain sentences in the language which are referred to by traditional grammarians as having a passive meaning, and the se is said to constitute a 'passivizer particle'. This becomes clear when we examine sentences like (47).

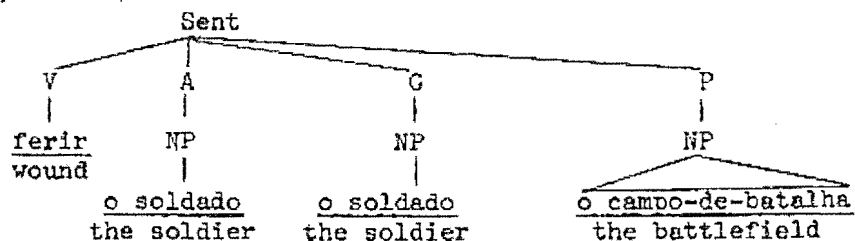
- (47) Feriu-se o soldado no campo de batalha  
 'Hurt se the soldier in the battlefield'

This sentence is in two ways ambiguous. Its two different readings can be paraphrased as

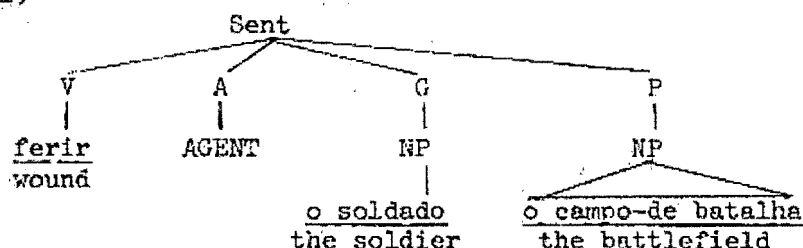
- (48) O soldado se feriu no campo de batalha  
 'The soldier wounded himself in the battlefield'  
 (49) O soldado foi ferido no campo de batalha.  
 'The soldier was (=got) wounded in the battlefield'

Reading (48) of (47) is an instance of 'true reflexive', whereas reading (49) of (48) is an instance of the so-called 'passive use of the se'. Since the sentence is ambiguous, the grammar has to assign two different structures for it. Following Langacker's proposal we would have as possible deep structures (50) and (51) which would correspond to the readings (48) (49), respectively.

(50)



(51)



Consider now sentence (52).

(52) Abriram-se as castanhas.  
'Opened se the nuts'

This sentence is unambiguous. It can be paraphrased as (53).

(53) As castanhas se tornaram abertas  
'The nuts turned (themselves) open'

Reading (54) is impossible:

(54) \*As castanhas foram abertas (#52)  
'The nuts were open'

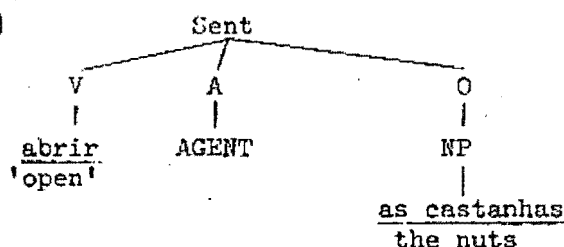
Observe that the structure underlying (52) cannot be (55) for it does not match native speaker's judgments that no Agent is involved.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>The distinction made by Langacker (p. 177) between sentences with no agentive constituent as opposed to sentences with an unspecified Agent is quite pertinent here. (I am indebted to Charles Fillmore for having called my attention to this important question). Thus sentence (52) would be quite different from the Spanish sentence discussed by Langacker:

(i) Se rompió las ventanas con un martillo

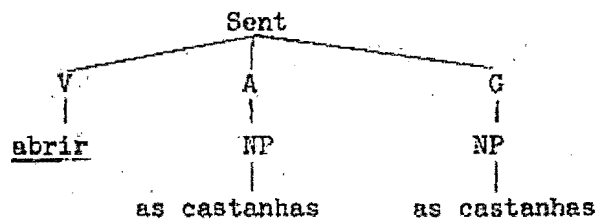
If the Spanish sentence is grammatical it would in fact match native speakers' judgment that there is in fact someone who, using the hammer broke the windows. But see fn. 7 with respect to the status of the Spanish sentence.

(55)



Nor can it be (56)

(56)



That (56) is incorrect is clearly seen if we compare sentences like:

(57) O homem se barbeou com uma navalha  
'The man shaved himself with a razor'

(58) \*A castanha se abriu com um martelo  
'The nut opened (itself) with a hammer'

It is clear from these examples that only (57) can have an Agent and is to be regarded as a normal 'reflexive sentence'. This opens the possibility that the presence of the reflexive pronoun in (52)--assuming that it is indeed the reflexive pronoun--must come from a structure quite distinct from (55) and (56), which nevertheless provides the correct structural description for Reflexivization to apply in a certain stage in the derivation.

Consider now the following sentences:

(59) a. O papel se tornou enrugado  
'The paper turned (itself) wrinkled'

b. O papel se enrugou.  
'The paper wrinkled (itself)'

(60) a. O navio está se tornando enferrujado.  
'The ship is turning itself rusty'

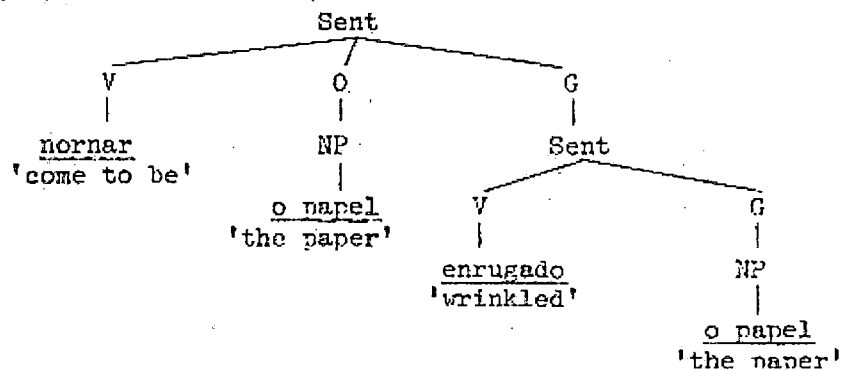
b. O navio está se enferrujando  
'The ship is 'rustying'' (lit. itself)

The sentences (a) and (b) seem to be related and there is no obvious semantic distinction between them. Notice again that there is a common property shared by both these two pairs of sentences and sentence (52). In both cases there is a 'change of state' taking place and there is no apparent Agent, either in the surface or in the deep structure.

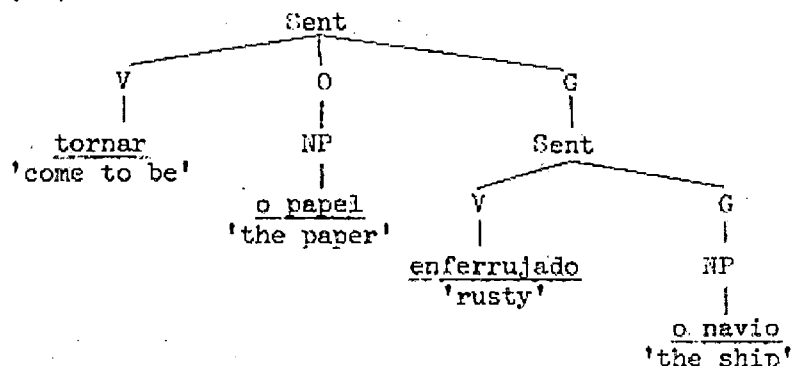
One possible alternative analysis is to assume that the sentences (a) in (59) and (60) are basic and that the sentences (b) are derived by transformation. The deep structure for them would be (61) and (62), respectively.



(61)



(62)



The derivation of (59a) and (60a) involves simply rules which are already in the grammar: Nominative Marking, Subject Raising, and Reflexivization. The lower predicates which are non-verbs assume the surface form of Adjectives. The derivation of (59b) and (60b) involves an extra-rule which substitutes the lower predicate for the higher. Notice also that this proposal does not involve the postulation of any 'abstract' verb. It is simply based on the hypothesis that the sentences in (59) and (60), respectively, come from a common source.

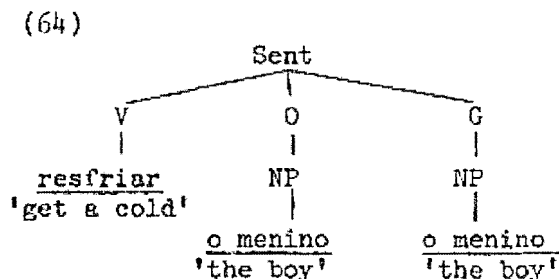
A second alternative analysis is suggested by sentences such as

(63) O menino se resfriou  
'The boy got a cold'

Sentences of this type contain what we have been calling 'verbs of change of state', or, perhaps more properly, 'modification of state'. We may analyse these verbs as adding a new property to the Object. By adopting the notion of Goal, we may say that these verbs are to be treated as two-place predicates involving an Object and a Goal, such as that an Object x by having a new property added to it results into the Goal x'. Notice that the presupposition

underlying (63) is that 'the boy did not have a cold before'.

A tentative deep structure for (63) may be represented as (64).

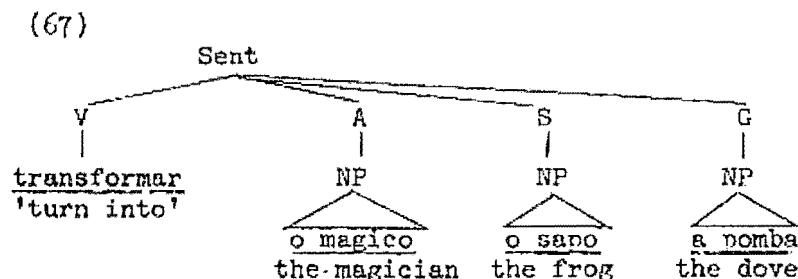


This analysis seems to be equally applicable in the case of 'verbs of transformation' which require understanding of Source and Goal. Consider:

(65) O mágico transformou o sapo numa pomba.  
'The magician turned the frog into a dove'

(66) O magico transformou-se numa pomba.  
'The magician turned (himself) into a dove'

The deep structure for (65) can be represented as (67).



The deep structure of sentence (66) differs from (67) only in that we have to substitute o magico 'the magician' for o sapo 'the frog'.

Observe also that strict coreferentiality does not seem to be the case but rather some kind of identification between NP's<sup>11</sup> as shown by:

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<sup>11</sup> In Aspects (p. 179ff.) Chomsky discusses a parallel situation, only the problem involved there is one of deletion.

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(68) A semente se transformou numa árvore  
'The seed transformed (itself) into a tree'

(69) A semente se tornou uma árvore  
'The seed 'turned/became' (itself) a tree'

If either of these two analysis is correct, it is possible to explain not only that the alleged ambiguity of 'impersonal' sentences such as:

- (70) Conserta-se sapatos (=45)
  - a. (AGENT ?) repairs shoes
  - b. Shoes are repaired.

is, in fact, a pseudo-problem, but also that they are strikingly similar to the so-called 'passive with the se' sentences like:

- (71) Feriu-se o soldado no campo de batalha (=47)
  - 'The soldier was (=got) wounded in the battle-field' (=49)

What really seems to be involved in both cases is precisely the absence of an Agent of any kind, or at least the 'presence' in a very abstract level of an Agent of a very special type. The 'pseudo-ambiguity' of (70) shows up only if we insist on looking at the problem in terms of strict notions of 'active' and 'passive'. Notice further that these sentences do not allow the presence of an Agent in the surface as evidenced by:

- (72) \*Feriu-se o soldado no campo de batalha por João
  - 'The soldier got hurt in the battlefield by Joao'
- (73) \*Conserta-se sapatos por mim
  - 'Shoes are repaired (=get) repaired by me'
- (74) \*A janela se abriu pelo criado
  - 'The window got (=came) open by the butler'
- (75) \*A castanha se abriu por Judite
  - 'The nut opened by Judith'

We have to discuss still another problem presented by sentences such as (76) discussed by Langacker:

- (76) Sp. "Se rompieron las ventanas con un martillo"
  - 'The windows were broken with a hammer'

Langacker has pointed out that there seems to be an apparent anomaly in the choice of the subject for the Objective is chosen as subject despite the fact that there is an Instrumental present.

Notice, however, that there is a restriction with respect to the kind of Instrumental that can appear in sentences of the type exemplified by (76). The translation of the Spanish sentence (76) results always in an ungrammatical sentence in Portuguese.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>See footnote 7.

- (77) a. \*Partiram-se as janelas com um martelo  
 b. \*Se partiram as janelas com um martelo  
 c. \*As janelas se partiram com um martelo  
 'The windows were broken (=got broken) with a hammer

Sentences (78) and (79), on the other hand, are grammatical.

- (78) Partiram-se as vidraças com as marteladas.  
 'The windows got broken with the hammering' (=blow of the hammer)  
 (79) Partiram-se as vidraças com as pedradas  
 'The windows got broken with the stoning' (=blow of the stones)

As sentences (78) and (79) illustrate, the problem is not as simple as it might seem at first sight. One may propose a rule of Object copying to explain how the Objective has been chosen as the superficial subject despite the presence of an Instrumental, or devise a rule of 'Instrumental Shunting', to overcome the difficulty. But I believe that none of these procedures is correct.

Observe further that the Instrumentals allowed in (78) and (79) are all instances of 'efficient cause' which are analysed by Fillmore<sup>13</sup>

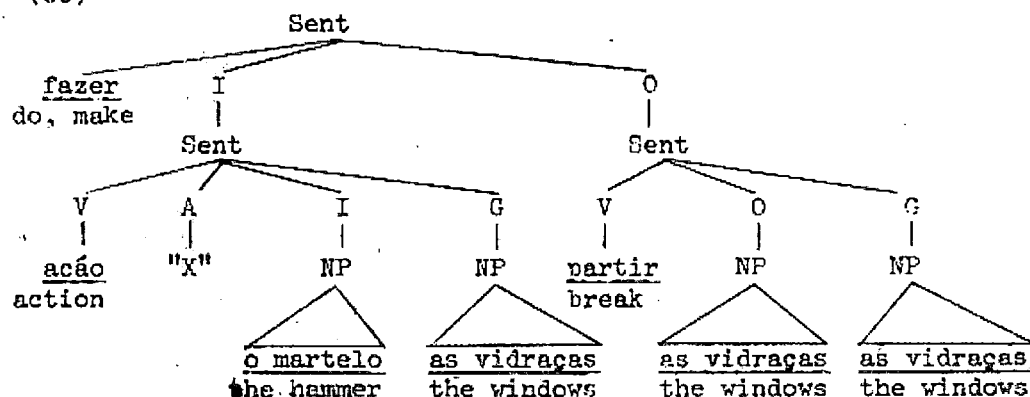
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<sup>13</sup>Lectures at the 1970 Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America at The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

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as Sentences embedded in the Instrumental case. But it is not unlikely that we may have to postulate a much more abstract structure for these sentences. One in which the whole 'efficient-cause' Sentence is the subject of a sentence with a 'verb of causation' such as fazer 'make, do', and partiram-se as vidraças is a Sentence embedded in its Object. In other words, the deep structure of (78) may be something like (80).

(80)



Notice that there is even surface structure sentences to substantiate it:

- (81)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{A ação} \\ \text{O golpe} \end{array} \right\}$  de Pedro com um martelo contra as  
vidraças fez as vidraças se partirem.  
'The action } of Peter with a hammer against the  
'The hitting } windows made the windows break'
- (82) As vidraças se fizeram em pedaços com as marteladas  
de Pedro contra elas.  
'The windows came to pieces with the hammering of  
Peter against them'
- (83) As marteladas fizeram as vidraças se partirem  
'The hammering made the windows get broken'
- (84) As marteladas de Pedro fizeram as vidraças se partirem.  
'The hammering of Peter's made the windows get broken'

Whether the analysis presented in (80) is true or not, I do not know. But I believe that sentences (81) through (84) serve to illustrate the complexities involved in the subject choice of apparently simple cases like (76). It shows also that we have to know much more about these sentences before we can ascertain whether the 'case hierarchy' has been violated or not.

Let us summarize briefly the main points discussed in this paper. First I have considered Langacker's proposal that the presence of the reflexive in sentences containing the so-called 'automatic reflexive verbs' is to be accounted for by marking the verb as undergoing only the first part of the Subject Formation rule (Copying) but not the second part (Deletion). I have argued first that this proposal as formulated would in the case of lamentar 'regret' not only rule out good sentences as (29) and (30a) but also produce ungrammatical sentences like (30b); and second, I have pointed out that when sentences containing these verbs have a complement sentence embedded in them Reflexivization is sensitive to the presence of an identical NP in the lower sentence. I have then proposed the alternative view that the so-called 'automatic reflexive verbs' are to be treated as always taking an underlying complement and that the presence of the reflexive is to be explained in terms of the normal application of Subject Raising and Reflexivization. I have also pointed out that there is not yet sufficient evidence for choosing one alternative over the other.

Second, I have suggested that the so-called 'impersonal' sentences and the sentences containing the so-called 'passive se' be merged together for their main syntactic characteristic is that they do not allow the presence of an Agent in the surface structure, and, semantically, it seems that they exhibit a certain 'vagueness' rather than strict 'ambiguity'. I have advanced two tentative hypotheses in

order to account for the presence of the reflexive in them. In the first I have suggested that verbs such as enferrujar 'to rust' (60), enrugar 'to wrinkle' (59) are 'Adjectives', that is, 'non-verbs', embedded in the Goal case of a Sentence which contains a verb of 'change or modification of state' such as tornar 'come to be'. In this case both the 'verb of modification of state' and the Adjective are one-place predicates in the deep structure. Reflexivization takes place when the NP's which constitute their arguments are coreferential. In the second I have presented the alternative view that perhaps there is no need for having a 'true' verb such as tornar 'come to be' in the deep structure and that all of them are 'true' verbs. Verbs of modification of state would then be analysed as requiring understanding of the Object before it undergoes the modification and of the Goal, that is, the Object with the modifying property added to it. Reflexivization would then place if the NP's dominated by the Objective and Goal cases are coreferential. Finally, I have argued that sentences containing the reflexive pronoun and which are said to have a 'passive' or 'impersonal' meaning allow the presence only of 'efficient-cause' Instrumentals. This opens the possibility that these sentences may have a 'causative Agent' and that they are, in a much abstracter level, sentences embedded as Objects of a sentence containing a 'verb of causation', which has as its subject the whole 'efficient-cause' Instrumental sentence.

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